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COMMENT

WASHINGTON'S NEW OUTLOOK

It used to be said of Europe's dependence on the United States that when Washington sneezed, Europe caught a cold. But now things are quite different and much worse. For Washington is suffering from shock—and every country in the world will before long feel some of the effects; especially those countries which seek to harmonise their policies with those of the United States.

As we report (*on page four*) from New York, the reaction to the American setbacks in Cuba and Laos have produced two contradictory lines of thinking in the U.S. Administration, and both of them are being actively followed in one field or another.

Thus there now exists a strong inclination in Washington to move with much greater caution in the field of Afro-Asian affairs, and especially to avoid getting involved in any new problems which are not immediately pressing. And for the present, the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine Arab refugee situation are rated as issues which will not suffer substantially by being left on the shelf for another year while the more urgent questions are dealt with. There is also a strong feeling in Washington that the President would like a good deal more detailed information rather than propaganda on these subjects before he seriously embarks on these stormy waters. And, in fact, neither the Israelis nor the Arabs are very anxious at this stage for a still unpredictable American initiative.

* * *

But alongside this inclination to caution, almost a wait-and-see policy, in the theatres of secondary importance, there appears to be a kind of public remonstrance demanding that the United States should not, and must not, stand on the sidelines when her interests are threatened. Cuba has produced a tremendous public swing of opinion in favour of interventionist American policy in the western hemisphere. Just what it would mean is still not clear, but it has led during the last two weeks to an extraordinary reappraisal of the policy and value of non-intervention.

This growing mood towards a more activist foreign policy is, however, confined to those issues which are considered as of immediate and direct interest to the United States. In the Middle East,

an open establishment of Soviet bases would be considered such a threat, but Arab hostility to Israel, or the Cairo propaganda campaign in Africa, are not considered problems that need immediate attention; they are not as pressing as the Congo, or Cuba or the rest of Latin America.

* * *

But this mixed attitude of the United States—almost isolationist in one part and almost interventionist in the other—has further increased the marked American isolation in the United Nations. For the majority of Afro-Asian and Latin Americans there see conditions in Afro-Asia quite differently from the picture presented to the Americans; and the gap appears to be growing.

One immediate and specific effect of this state of affairs is to turn any major American initiative in the United Nations into a major controversial conflict between her and the Afro-Asian nations, supported by the Soviet bloc. This applies particularly to Middle East questions and makes it almost certain, therefore, that the Kennedy Administration—which has no illusions on this score—will not court another setback in the prickly field of Arab-Israeli differences.

It would be idle to deny that this changes the entire outlook for the months immediately ahead. For in a sense, the tables have been reversed: it is the United States which is momentarily contained by the coalition of Afro-Asians and Soviet bloc countries. It is the Americans whose diplomatic manoeuvrability is temporarily restricted.

This naturally poses important questions for the Israelis. It looks a disturbing situation, but it need not be. For a thoroughgoing reappraisal by Israel in this situation could put her in a position of strength and not of weakness. For it is becoming clear that there are no real concessions that Israel can make to the main Arab demands; but what she can now do is something of which everyone else is afraid: she can state her position with absolute clarity and frankness so that every one of the hundred nations at the U.N.—including Washington—will have no excuse for not understanding it. It is now the prime job of Israel's foreign policy to make sure of this understanding, and to do it by persuasion and conviction, not by declamation.

U.S.A.

KENNEDY'S MIDDLE EAST DILEMMA

HAMMARSKJOLD BEFORE THE SHOWDOWN

from Jon Kimche

New York :

Kennedy would like to leave the Middle Eastern cauldron alone until 1962. It might then be much easier to tackle the outstanding Israel-Arab differences, the future of Suez Canal shipping, and that of the forgotten Palestinian refugees.

There seems to be no vital reason why they should not wait another year for a settlement. No one has shown any desire for urgency so far. But, it is admitted, it would be unrealistic to assume that Kennedy will be granted this grace. There are too many factors pointing in the opposite direction.

For a long time, the State Department has been trying to make up its mind about the status of President Nasser. Was he a genuine neutralist who had to be respected even when he was a nuisance, or was he hand-in-glove with the Russians, even when he was not a nuisance? There have always been two schools holding these two opinions of Nasser.

Fawzi's reservations : But the opinion has increasingly gained ground that Nasser will do anything to embarrass the Americans, even to the point of open clashes inside his own government. This became known here over the Congo situation. Nasser takes the full Russian line on this, so much so that his Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Fawzi, has been telling many of his U.N. friends that he may resign his post because he cannot back Nasser's anti-U.N. and pro-Soviet policy in the Congo.

But Fawzi has stayed on and Nasser has continued along his line of opposition to Kennedy and Hammarskjold. The latest phase, which is watched as a test of Nasser's effectiveness as the Castro of the Nile, is the invitation which he and Tito have sent to the Latin American countries to attend a conference of leaders of the non-committed countries before the next session of the U.N. General Assembly.

It has not been overlooked here that both Nasser and Tito have in the past insisted that they wanted to remain neutral and not form a third power bloc at the U.N. of the so called uncommitted

countries. Yet this is what he and Tito are doing.

Rusk's hand strengthened : Nothing has been said in Washington which could be taken as an official attitude to this Castro-Cairo axis. It is felt that no good could come from any American comment at this stage. Much better to wait and see what emerges from this new front—and where, if at all, Premier Kruschev fits into it.

Recent events have in fact greatly strengthened the hand of the new Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. His stature has grown as that of Adlai Stevenson seems to have shrunk. For Rusk's approach seems to have so much more solidity behind it than Stevenson's, which has struck even friendly U.N. observers as being extraordinarily ineffective.

Washington has come round to Rusk's considered opinion that, even at the United Nations, American diplomacy needs something more than effective speechmaking. U.S. policy will have to be developed, according to Rusk, by persistent and patient preparatory negotiation. This applies especially to those issues which are not immediately pressing. And the Middle East is considered as the classic example.

Secretariat problem : Rusk would like to remove the Middle East from the public eye for a while, and to begin talks with all parties concerned to sound them on their opinions. Washington itself seems for the moment singularly without any firm attitudes on the Middle East, that is, specific attitudes as against general views which are virtually untranslatable into current politics.

Rusk has a second powerful reason for beginning now on these purely exploratory soundings. Unlike most American officials, he seems to be more conscious of the crisis and malaise inside the U.N. For one thing there exists a serious problem in the secretariat which is heavily laden in its senior positions with American citizens.

There is widespread agreement that the U.S. will have to yield many of these positions to critical Africans or Soviet bloc citizens. This has created a marked feeling of instability at the U.N. Even its most loyal servants are asking themselves how long Hammarskjold can hold out against the tide and what comes afterwards.

Weaker than ever? This is a risk which Kennedy is taking by postponing discussions on the Middle East, if possible until next year. For the constellation of voting powers may then back the Castro-Cairo axis—but it is not certain.



SECRETARY RUSK
Two powerful reasons

Washington is therefore looking for someone who has something to contribute to the solution of the Middle Eastern deadlock.

It is looking particularly questioningly at Israel. So far Israel has always been very vocal in emphasising what she does not want, but now she is expected to say what she does want. For once she is expected to make her own position quite clear.

Yet, just at this moment, the Israeli representation at the U.N. and in Washington appears weaker than it has been for many years; some observers think than ever before. This week two of its able members, Eilan and Elizur, have been withdrawn from the U.N. delegation to fill posts in Ethiopia and Burma respectively. There is no indication yet of their successors.

Singular importance : Francis Ofner who has lately seconded Michael Arnold in the important press team in Washington, is now moving to New York, leaving Washington without a single senior and experienced press officer at a time when this office assumes a special significance.

It seems that, in the coming months Israel in Washington and in New York will assume a singular importance in relation to the United Nations' world and the Washington policy makers—and both may be more important for a time than the special relations with American Jewry.

But there seems to be a feeling that this is not yet fully appreciated in Jerusalem.

AFRICA

"SUMMIT" CALL FROM DIVIDED CONTINENT

MOSCOW PROCLAIMS ITS PREFERENCE

While the Foreign Ministers of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the United Arab Republic and a representative of the "Algerian Provisional Government" conferred in Cairo last weekend on a wide range of military and political matters, delegates of 21 other independent African countries, including many heads of state and representing more than two-thirds of the population of independent Africa, were gathering in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, for discussion of measures to bring about closer co-operation in economic development and matters of health and communications.

Both conferences, however, were overshadowed by the announcement from Cairo at the weekend that more than 20 states had accepted the joint invitations issued by President Nasser and President Tito for a neutralist "summit" meeting to be held in Cairo, probably before the autumn meeting of the U.N. General Assembly.

A list of those countries invited has not been issued, but among the countries definitely attending are said to be Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Indonesia and Cuba. Nehru is stated to have expressed his approval of the meeting in a message to President Nasser. Three committees have already been established in Cairo to prepare the ground for the conference which is to discuss the topic of "world peace."

Support for Palestine Arabs: Last week's Cairo conference of Foreign Ministers was a follow-up to the Casablanca conference of heads of state in January. A statement issued at the end of their deliberations on Friday night said the Ministers had drafted and approved the protocol of the Casablanca Charter.

They had discussed African and international problems on which their views were in agreement, and would support the Congo government led by Antoine Gizenga. On Algeria, they unconditionally supported the policy of the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic."

They also "reaffirmed their support of the lawful rights of Palestinian Arabs and the desire to carry out the resolutions on Palestine passed by the Casablanca



TITO PLAYS IT COOL
What will Moscow think of this one?

conference," and expressed admiration for "the Cuban people's struggle to preserve their independence and defend their country."

Not today, or tomorrow: But, behind the scenes, all was not as cordial as the final communiqué suggested. At one point it was doubtful whether the Casablanca Charter would be signed at all. The ceremony had been set for Thursday evening. But that night, Mohammed Riad of the U.A.R. emerged from the conference room to tell correspondents that it would not be signed "either today or tomorrow."

On Friday morning, the U.A.R. delegation took the others for a river-boat trip down the Nile during which a final attempt was made to hammer out an agreement. The main stumbling block appears to have been Ghana which had reservations on the Congo issue and the procedure suggested for a unified African High Command. There were also U.A.R. criticisms that Ghana's implementation of agreements reached at Casablanca had been less vigorous than hoped, particularly with regard to her connections with Israel.

Either the Ghanaian assurances were acceptable or the delegates believed that compromise was better than admitting inability to agree, and they returned from their cruise ready to sign the Charter. This provides for annual meetings of the "African Consultative Assembly" and for the establishment of four committees—political, cultural, economic and military.

Tubman's refusal: The military com-

mittee is to hold its first meeting on July 15 and will be attended by the commanders-in-chief or representatives of the states that took part in the Casablanca conference. The economic committee will start work in Conakry on the same date and the cultural committee will meet in Casablanca on July 31.

Noteworthy is the fact that neither the final communiqué nor the Cairo conference spokesmen made any reference to the Monrovia conference, which represents the first large-scale attempt by independent African nations to consider how best they can help themselves to solve the many problems facing the under-developed continent.

An attempt to have the conference put off was made by Mali and Guinea, despite the fact that they were among the nations which originally urged that it be held. But Liberia's President Tubman refused to accede to their request. He told Guinea's President Touré that the majority of states had already accepted his invitation and did not favour a postponement. He shared their view.

Not acceptable: Tubman revealed that he had also received messages from President Nkrumah and President Nasser suggesting that the Monrovia conference should continue where the Casablanca conference left off. His reply was to suggest that they should attend the conference and put their views to the other delegates on the spot.

But the main initiative for the boycott of the conference is believed to have come from Nasser and Touré, both of whom have been openly critical of those former French territories which have chosen to maintain friendship with France rather than follow the "neutralist" line of anti-westernism. These former French territories, now independent states, have also shown a bold disregard for Nasser's views by maintaining close ties with Israel, as has Nigeria,

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the largest of the independent African states.

To have accepted the Nasser-Nkrumah suggestion that Monrovia continue where Casablanca left off would have been to accept the conclusions reached at Casablanca and this none of the participants was prepared to do.

All sorts of compromise : Where Moscow stands as between the two conferences was made perfectly plain on Monday in a broadcast directed to Africa in both English and French. The decisions taken in Cairo, said commentator Grigory Yefimov, were, in a way, a reply to Nkrumah's appeal at the conclusion of the Casablanca conference: "Let's redouble our efforts to erase imperialism from the face of this beautiful earth."

But the conference "of certain African states" in Monrovia pursued aims quite different from those proclaimed at the Cairo conference. "According to Guinea's President Touré, this conference will only contribute to a still greater confusion and the number of participants will bury its genuinely representative character.

"The President of the Guinea Republic also said that the organisation of the struggle against imperialism will be replaced by all sorts of compromise which goes against the best national interests of the African people."

Bourguiba's attack : This appraisal of the Monrovia conference, added Yefimov, was confirmed both by the agenda and its composition.

"It is noteworthy that the conference agenda is so formulated as to lead the participants away from discussing the most burning issues facing Africans, whereas the Cairo conference was convened to continue the important and



NASSER AND NKRUMAH
Tussle on the Nile

noble work of rallying all patriotic forces in Africa . . ."

But if President Nasser was winning laurels from Moscow, he was under a rain of brickbats from a country much nearer home. Tunisia's President Bourguiba, on a visit to Washington, surprised the National Press Club with a vehement denunciation of the U.A.R. President, with whom Tunisia's quarrel had appeared to have been patched up at the last Arab Foreign Ministers' conference in Baghdad.

No yielding to pressure : Members of

the Arab League felt "very uneasy about Nasser's claim to be leader of Arab unity and nationalism, he declared. An Arab state that disagreed with Nasser's claim was regarded by Cairo as a traitor to the Arab cause.

But, he said, "North African countries do not yield to pressure and insults. They are not for positive neutralism. They don't want to stand against the western world. President Nasser can follow whatever policy he wishes, positive neutralism or negative neutralism, and if I don't want to follow that policy, I will not follow it."

PALESTINE "EXPERTS" MEETING CALLED

OPENING OF LEAGUE OFFICE IN LONDON

from our special Middle East correspondent, Robert Gee

May 29 has been suggested by Arab League secretary general Khalek Hassouna for the first full meeting of the four-man Expert Commission on Palestine which has been entrusted with the task of co-ordinating Arab political, military and economic action to destroy Israel (see JEWISH OBSERVER, May 5).

Meanwhile, Arab League headquarters in Cairo are the scene of feverish preparations for a new anti-Israel propaganda offensive to be launched from offices in New York, Bonn and London. First steps in Germany are being taken this week by Hassouna, who is having a series of meetings with West Berlin and Federal Government leaders.

In London, the campaign will get under way with the opening of the new League office, plans for which are now in the final stage. It is understood that an official now at the Lebanese Embassy in London will be in charge and premises are being sought in the Belgrave Square area. These plans were discussed at a recent meeting at League headquarters in Cairo between Hassouna and U.K. Ambassador Sir Harold Beeley.

Facts and objective arguments : An account of the meeting put out by Cairo's Middle East News Agency quoted the Ambassador as saying that the British Government would facilitate to the utmost "the mission of the League" office, to enable it to carry out its work satisfactorily."

Asked if the British Government would allow the League office to have full contact with all classes of British public opinion so that the Arab case could be explained, the Ambassador was quoted as saying: "It is known that the British

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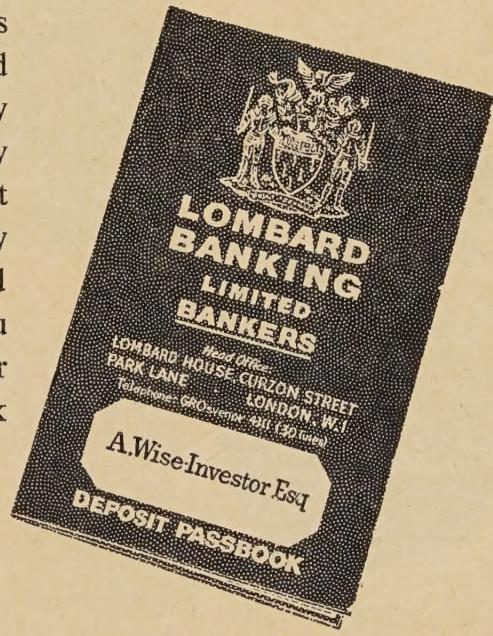
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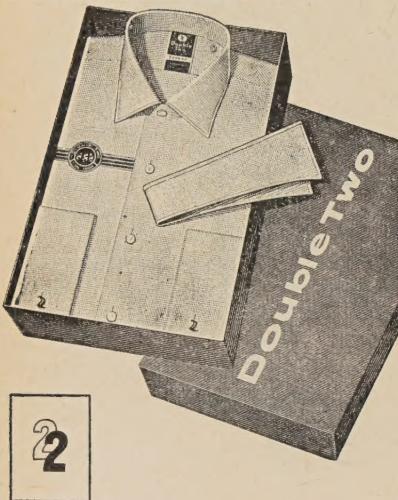
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public always accepts and is convinced by facts and objective arguments. The British Government always responds to the desires of the British public."

After his talk with Hassouna, the Ambassador toured the League headquarters, admiring its long corridors and sumptuous halls. Puzzled League officials are still looking at the walls and ceilings of their building to determine just what it was about them that caught the Ambassador's imagination.

Return of al Ghoury: Their imagination is not so easily to be caught however by the most recent incursion into the discussions on Palestine of the once influential Emile al Ghoury, who is making an active bid for a place on the Expert Commission.

Al Ghoury was secretary of the Arab Higher Committee during the Palestine war of 1948 when he made the then notable comment: "I do not want to



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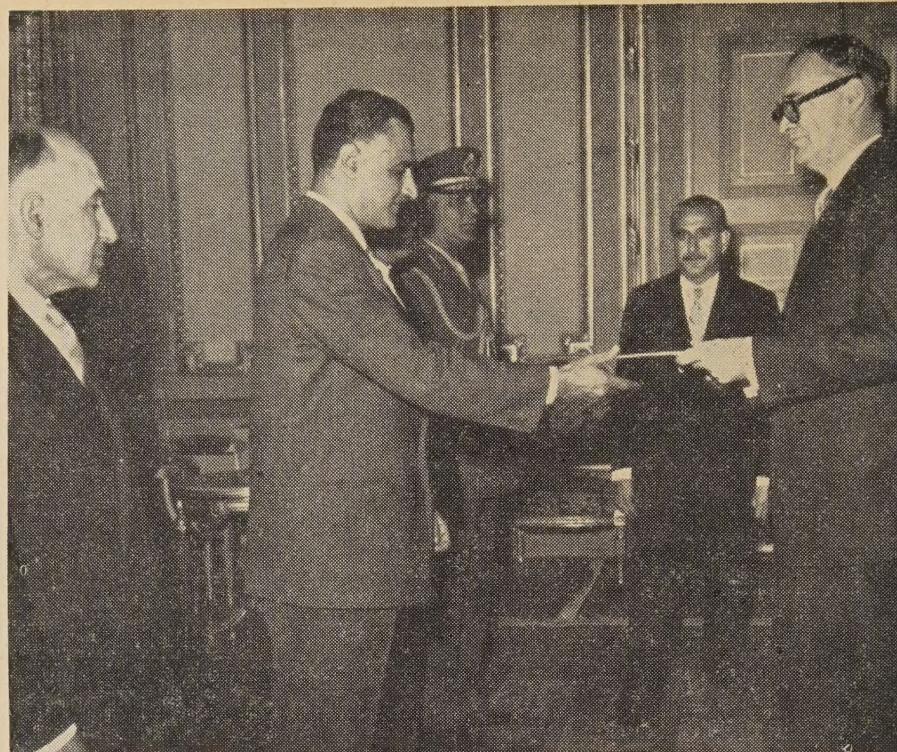
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impugn anyone, but only to help the refugees. The fact that there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the action of the Arab States in opposing partition and the Jewish State. The Arab States agreed upon this policy unanimously and they must share in the solution of the problem."

In more recent years, especially since the Cairo Government took over the active direction of the Palestine campaign, al Ghoury has travelled extensively as head of the so-called Palestine Delegation, seeking admission to the various international conferences at which the Palestine question appears on the agenda.

Measure of success: His latest exploit took place in November when he turned up in New York, where he was joined by associate Isa Nakhla. Together with several other Palestinians, they presented themselves before the Arab delegates to the United Nations, demanded that they be recognised as representatives of the Arab Higher Committee and asked for assistance in securing permission to participate in the Special Political Committee debate on Palestine.

There followed a period of great confusion in the ranks of the official delegates, resolved only by consultations at the highest level. The result was agreement that al Ghoury did not represent the Palestinians and had no right to speak on behalf of the Arab Higher Committee, but that he could appear before the Spe-

cial Political Committee as a "delegate from Palestine," provided that Dr. Izzat Tanous, director of the Palestine Refugees' Office in New York, went with him. Al Ghoury accepted this measure of success.

Since then, he has been cashing in on this partial recognition by giving a series of statements and interviews in the Arab press, the purport of which have been that Israel must be destroyed. This is the task of the Palestinians. The Palestinians must be given the help of the Arab armies.

A "casus belli": A document setting out these suggestions was submitted by al Ghoury and his friends to the meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers in Baghdad at the end of January. The tally to a great extent with the draft proposals of the Expert Commission, but also notable for the addition of some other which echo statements made on the topic of Palestine in recent weeks by Iraqi General Kassem. In particular, al Ghoury demanded that the Palestinians should be allowed to "organise themselves."

The document did not make clear whether the liberation of Palestine envisaged also applied to the west bank of the Jordan annexed by King Abdullah. It did, however, urge that any diversion of the Jordan waters by Israel should be regarded as a "casus belli." This very point, I understand, was to the fore at the discussions held in Cairo a fortnight ago by Arab military chiefs.

AMERICA IN THE NEWS

A NEW McCARTHYISM?

PROVIDED ONE RECOGNISES the obvious limitations, there is something to be said for a kind of lesser space man's view of the American way of life. For it is something which only few Americans and an occasional foreign newspaperman get to see. It is by its nature superficial, and has to rely to a considerable extent on second-hand information—but not altogether so. But the return is rewarding: one gets to see the American contrasts and contradictions as a whole, and one realises that, in many ways, Los Angeles is much more different from New York than is London or Tel Aviv.

The question left writ large in my mind after travelling some seven thousand miles along the west coast and then the eastern United States is, which is the more typical of the real United States: California or New York? The New Yorkers are confident that the more solid liberal and cosmopolitan eastern seaboard is much more representative of American thinking than the more volatile and unpredictable Californian west. Yet one cannot help wondering whether there is not an element of complacency springing from an understandable ignorance in this New Yorkian or Washingtonian attitude to what they consider the Californian eccentricities. In truth, the New Yorker, entrenched in his cosmopolitan world and supported by a solid press, can hardly imagine the quite different atmosphere that has already gripped the west coast without a single powerful and weighty liberal voice in the press or on the air.

POWERFUL BACKING

A typical case of the contrasting attitudes is the standing of the so-called John Birch Society. In New York it is looked upon as a largely crackpot affair, the typical lunatic fringe which Los Angeles throws up from time to time with sudden eruptions, and which disappears again just as suddenly. In Los Angeles there is not the same complacency about this movement. There it does not represent a lunatic fringe, but draws its central following from the most powerful economic and social sectors of the community. It has found active backers and supporters from among the judiciary, attorneys, bankers, the tremendously powerful real estate lobby, the



THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT
Outside an American synagogue
—another custom that's different

church and business generally. In fact, in Los Angeles, it is the social establishment which has joined up—and it is a really powerful establishment.

At a recent meeting in the largest auditorium in Los Angeles, over seven thousand people packed the hall, and many were shut out. The society's main policy seems to be almost hysterical anti-communism. It carefully avoids introducing either anti-Negro or anti-Jewish emphasis into its declared policy statements, but they are not far below the surface. In Los Angeles some of the most powerful anti-Jewish leaders are among the top men in the John Birch Society, and the way they present their policy is full of menace for anyone who does not agree with them.

INTELLECTUAL TERROR

Their formula is simple and effective. It goes like this: the communists are evil. We are against evil. Therefore, anyone who is against us is for evil and communism. And they proceed to denounce everyone who takes sides against them as communists or communist agents. The fact that this leads them to ludicrous conclusions has not prevented them from producing something akin to intellectual terror in the Los Angeles region. One notes, again in Los Angeles, though not in New York, the first danger symptoms of the McCarthy era. People are no longer talking freely in mixed company,

for one never knows whether word will not get back to the John Birch propagandists or their influential so-called research department, financed and supported by big business.

Nor is this a purely political or intellectual crusade against communism. It has already assumed an almost hysterical undertone, which is reflected in the public claim of the sponsors and its supporters that the commies and the commicubans must be uprooted and killed. This kind of talk is no longer confined to drawing-rooms or closed meetings, but is heard at the big public meetings and on the most popular television programmes. Some of these have taken on an almost frightening aspect of mass hysteria and hate.

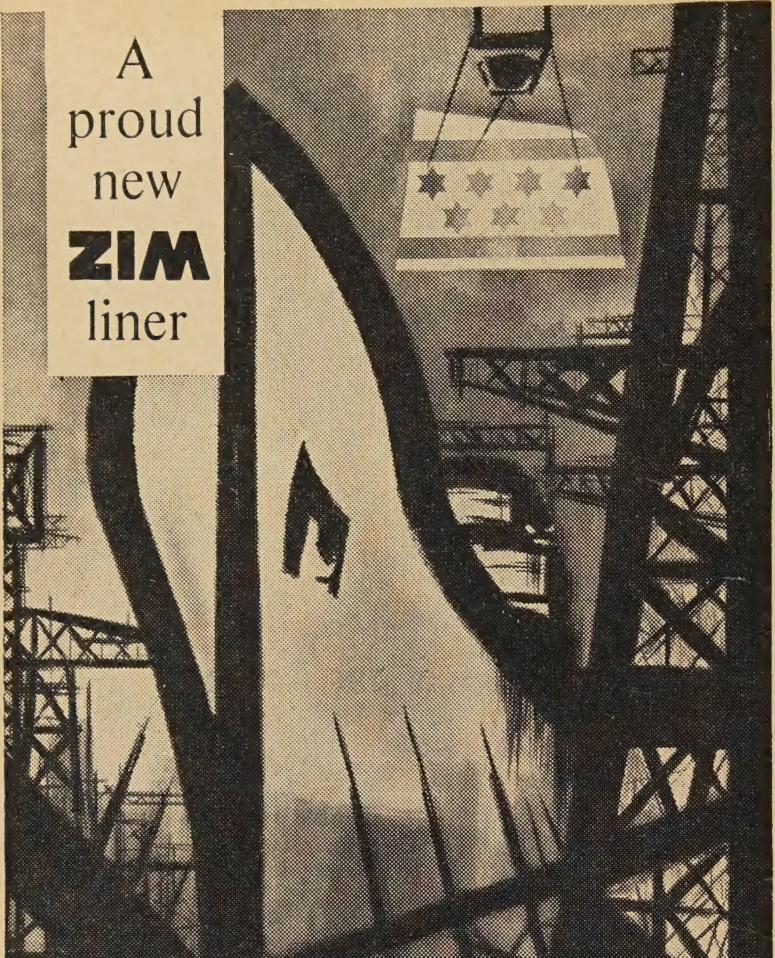
But could it become a nation-wide political movement in New York? No one really thinks so. There is great confidence in the sanity and solidity of the Kennedy Administration and the great majority of American public opinion. This is probably true, but it is not a constant factor, and the country is clearly living very much on its nerves and dangerously close to a kind of national hysteria—as could be seen in the state it got into over its space success. Many sober foreign observers here wondered what would have happened if the space hopes had been disappointed. It is frightening to contemplate.

DIFFERENT FROM US

And this is just the kind of political climate in which the activities of the John Birch Society can flourish. It only needs another unexpected large national setback for the eccentricities of California to spread to other parts of the country. And there is enough tinder still lying around. For again, California, which is the heart and soul of the great missile and electronic boom, is also showing extraordinary patches of economic distress. On the doorstep of Los Angeles (where new immigrants in search of work and wealth are still arriving at the rate of over a thousand a week), there are virtual ghost towns of new houses. Their occupants either lost their jobs or could not get them in the first place.

With their capital exhausted, their hire purchase goods reclaimed by the merchants, and evicted from their homes, they provide a considerable reserve of distress and discontent for this type of political agitation. But one must not ex-

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aggerate this side of life here. It affects possibly a tenth of the population, but it is swamped by the rest. One comes away with the impression that, in some ways, it is America's fabulous wealth which is more of a problem than her substantial sector of unemployment.

For it is the working and earning part of the population that finds it so hard to understand the rest of the world. In many ways, the Americans are now economically more isolationist than they were politically. Their customs of life rather than their standard of life have set them apart from the rest of the world. It can no longer be related to anything we know in Europe.

TOYNBEE HITS THE JACKPOT

A NEW YORK PROFESSOR said to me as we looked at the massive morning paper that he thought Professor Toynbee was onto a good thing. The headlines were instructive. The *Herald Tribune* had a picture of the laughing professor with bold type saying: "Toynbee hits at Jewish apartheid—Zionism is equated with anti-Semitism." The *New York Times* sounded rather more inconsequential. I said: "Toynbee predicts gains by Judaism—Historian assails Zionism as akin to anti-Semitism."

Toynbee's progress has been fascinating. Having established his position as historian he is now exploiting it for anything but academic purposes. His speech last week was made to the conference of the principal anti-Zionist lobby in the U.S., the American Council for Judaism and Toynbee told them what they wanted to hear. Zionism, he said, has as its watchword the slogan, "Back to the mediaeval ghetto," which, he thought was as bad as the anti-Semites' watchword, "Back to mediaeval apartheid." Speaking without any regard to the facts of American life, Toynbee called for total assimilation by Jews and Gentiles—but he was not very precise about the basis for this mutual assimilation.

Nor was he very precise about the kind of civilisation to which the Jews should assimilate—especially in the United States, where Catholics and Protestants live their own community life as much as do the Jews. Thus, Toynbee has become a popular stick with which to beat the American Zionists, and popular sticks are very much treasured around here. Professor Toynbee's lecture agency is asking \$1,500 for one lecture by the professor—and getting it.

Jon Kimche

ISRAEL

MAPAI SHOWS NEW CONFIDENCE

LIBERAL INDECISION A FACTOR

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv:

There is no longer any doubt that Mapai has shrugged off the shock wave of pessimism that surged over its head with the Lavon Affair and the consequent rallying of the General Zionist and Progressives to form a Liberal Party.

Until a week or two ago quite a few Mapai leaders did not believe their own reassurances to the rank and file of the party that the Liberals would provide no real threat. Now, like the veteran Zionist paying his first visit to Israel, they have discovered that all the stories they have been telling are true.

Even in the most optimistic circles of Liberal supporters there is no one who sees the party notching up more than 20 seats in the forthcoming elections, an improvement of six over their present representation. Four of these gains, it is reckoned, would come from Mapai and two from Herut.

More of a success: Mapai pundits foresee a loss of four seats to the Right and about two to the Left, which would leave the party with a holding of 40 in the 120-seat Knesset. Opinion in all the parties is that if Mapai loses no more than this after all the noise and trouble



MOSHE KOL
Together but separate

of recent months, then she can rightly claim more of a success than a defeat.

What has brought about the change of mood within the ranks of Mapai? First of all there is the fact that the Liberals failed to attract many really well-known names. Professors are highly esteemed, but only as professors. And even many of those who signed the Liberal manifesto have not taken formal steps to join the party.

Then there was Dr. Goldmann's decision to adhere to the Liberal Party but not to settle in Israel for the time being. This ruled him out as a candidate and he has himself stated that he will be able to hold no party position.

Problem of names: And now there is the dissension within Liberal ranks over the names to head the party's election list. The "newcomers" to the Liberal ranks were supposed to have 20 per cent of the "sure seats" on the party election list, that is four of the first twenty. But so far there has been no agreement on either the choice of the four or where their names should appear on the list. The tendency is to consider the names put forward as being General Zionist nominees or Progressive nominees, rather than Liberal Party nominees.

As to the first place, the General Zionists seem willing to concede it to Pinhas Rosen because of his national prestige following the Lavon Affair. Bernstein would take second place, but, in compensation for Rosen, Sapir would be third with Kol placed fourth.

Progressive leader Ishar Harari presents a special problem. He is generally regarded as the next Progressive candidate for a Cabinet portfolio, but the make-up of the new Liberal list seems to rule him out. He is known to have been less than enthusiastic about the merger.

Decisions postponed: In an attempt to pacify him, there is a movement on foot to give him a place among the first handful, but no formal decision has yet been taken.

This underlines the basic fact about the two-party merger: that, so far, it exists more in name than in reality. Decisions on important matters of policy, for example, have been put off until after the elections. Should workers in industry get the higher wages now being demanded by the Histadrut? The Liberal section in the Histadrut says yes; the majority of the Liberal Party, supporting the industrialists' point of view says no.

Should there be a change in foreign policy as suggested by Dr. Goldmann, or not? Even on questions of principle

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no decision has been taken. Thus, while Professor Talmon attacks the religious aspects of life in Israel, party organisers are hoping to attract some religious personalities into the ranks. A favourite at the moment is Yehuda Spiegel, formerly an aide to Moshe Shapiro.

Cold shoulder for Serlin : It is left to the questioning voter to decide for himself whether the Liberal Party's social policy is more correctly represented by Sha'ari in the Histadrut or by Joseph Sapir, a strong opponent of the Histadrut.

The choice is not helped by signs of discord in the highest echelons of party leadership. It is impossible to overlook the cold-shouldering of Joseph Serlin by former General Zionist colleagues and the almost dictatorial attitude being adopted by Sapir.

There was even a move at the founding assembly of the Liberal Party to have Serlin excluded from the "top table" and only a threat of resignation by Leo Dultzin finally got him seated. When the General Zionists selected their five-man committee to discuss problems of the merger with the Progressives, Serlin was left off.

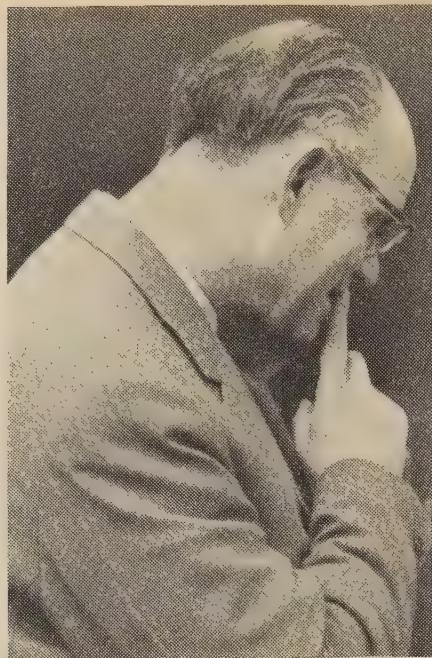
Fighting on two fronts : Since then, Serlin excluded from the "top table" and the General Zionist group against what he calls "oligarchic tendencies" and "undemocratic procedures." These and other quarrels are now coming out and with the promise of more in the offing can do little to aid the new Liberals in the weeks before August 15.

It is not only within the ranks of the Liberals that Mapai is having some of its propaganda work done for it. Battle lines have already been drawn up between Herut and the Liberals on the

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GIORA JOSEPHTAL
Laying the ghost of the Affair

Right, and between Mapam and Ahdut Avoda on the Left. Herut has openly declared that it will be fighting on two fronts: against the Liberals and Mapai. Their appeal is directed to those who previously voted General Zionist as an alternative to Mapai. With the Liberals bent upon forming a coalition with Mapai, they assert, only Herut is left as a Right-wing alternative.

On the Left, the distant fencing in the columns of their respective newspapers between Israel Galili of Ahdut Avoda and Meir Yaari of Mapam has turned into a duel at close quarters. Both hope to gain votes from Mapai and to prove that the other is not worthy of trust.

Public unconcern : It already seems assured, therefore, that the Lavon Affair will not, as some Mapai leaders thought, provide the sole topic of election debating.

Stirred by these controversies amongst its adversaries, Mapai has now thrown its election machine into top gear. Ministers and top officials have been assigned their tasks in the campaign general staff and are drawing up plans for a national drive to be launched in about a month's time. The party workers have been given their slogan by Mapai secretary Joseph Almogi—"No pessimism and no optimism, but activism."

But the activism in the various party headquarters contrasts strongly with the general lack of interest among the public at large. Newspaper headlines continue to blazon the Eichmann story to the ex-

clusion of almost everything else. Nobody seems to think that the elections will change very much and the general attitude seems to be: "Elections, who needs them?"

"STOP PLAYING HAMLET"

JOSEPHTAL'S ADVICE TO MAPAI

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

Despite the burgeoning optimism within Mapai, the ghost of the Lavon Affair is still a factor in party deliberations, and this prompted Minister of Labour Giora Josephtal last week, at a conference of Mapai's kibbutz movement, to call upon the party to "stop playing Hamlet and worrying whether to be or not to be."

Josephtal made another significant statement at the conference. Ben-Gurion could have no "successor," he said. "The Prime Minister is a historic figure, and he can no more have a single successor than Churchill or Roosevelt could."

Ben-Gurion was nothing less than a national asset, he went on. The question of his leadership was a national one, and did not belong to party politics. Ben-Gurion proved his leadership in that he had the personal authority to provide a policy of initiative and not simply of reactions to events.

After Ben-Gurion : Josephtal mentioned the decisions to withdraw from Sinai and the reparations agreement with Western Germany—decisions which were not popular but had to be made.

After Ben-Gurion, Israel could only be led by a group of people accepting collective responsibility, Josephtal stated.

Therefore, the main problem before Mapai was to prevent inner strife, so that such a collective leadership could be formed when the time came.

The conference, representing all settlements of Ichud Hakvutzot ve'Hakibbutzim, affiliated to Mapai, was called to discuss the election campaign and the role of the kibbutzim in it.

"Gordonia" opposition : After much discussion, an election committee was appointed, by 88 votes to 13 with 8 abstentions. It is headed by Moshe Netzer of Ramat Yohanan, a staunch supporter of Ben-Gurion and son of Shraga Netzer, head of the "Gush" of Mapai old-timers.

The dissenting voices came mostly from the kibbutzim comprising former "Gordonia" members, the movement in which Lavon was a prominent figure.

ARAB WORLD

BASRA REMEMBERS THE BRITISH BUT THE YOUNGSTERS LOOK TO MOSCOW

from our own correspondent

Basra :

Like its traditional rival Mosul, Basra is strongly anti-Kassem. It is also anti-military and pro-communist. But, from the bread and butter angle, the overriding one for the fathers who like to arrive home with a basket full of vegetables, some meat and certainly a few loaves and a selection of pickles, the tendency is to regret the better times when one could depend on the Britisher who spent and let others earn a reasonable living.

The fathers and mothers of the boys who go to school are not communists because they know the economics of running a home and feeding children, but the youngsters themselves are communists and so are the unemployed, of which there are now a fairly high number.

The most sane of all the local residents seem to be the Chaldeans, Nestorians and Assyrians, of whom there are between six and ten thousand, with the Chaldeans predominating. They are very hard-working and bitterly anti-Moslem, because the Moslems make them so.

Hankering after fireworks: Feelings against the present regime are strong at all levels outside of the few officers who are out for glory, untainted by considerations of common sense. The tie-up at high officer level with Russian agents is much stronger than it ever was, which may be explained by the need on the part of the Iraqi leaders (specifically Kassem and Jawwad) to pull something off without hurting themselves.

Time is getting awfully precious and if another July 14 comes around with another recital of the same old story there are going to be a lot of disappointed people. The Iraqis quickly get tired of the same old tune and have a constant hankering after fireworks.

Although there is a considerable gap between Mosul and Basra, not only in mileage, there is a remarkable similarity in anti-Kassem attitudes, but the guts of the two antagonisms are quite different. Mosul is always anti-government, no matter what. This has historical reasons. Many Mosulis regard themselves as vastly superior to the Baghhdadis and hate the Baghhdadis for disdaining them. There is a belief among Mosulis that you



KASSEM
Still in the crates

only have to be a native of the city to be automatically allotted third place, whatever your qualifications (though this is not true of either Hadid or Shenshal).

Directives from Moscow: I am sure that the Mosulis still resent being taken away from Turkey and there is more anti-British feeling there than in Basra where British merchants and trade have done much to give the town stability. But this hankering after the British has not done much to halt the rise of communism among the youth and the discontented.

There is little overt communist organisation and most of the liaison work appears to be done through operations

centres in Baghdad. All the Russians in Basra have to keep in touch with the Embassy in Baghdad, but the "mission" directives come from the Kremlin and not the Embassy. Certain political directives that come to civilian leaders from Kassem or Jawwad are the result of consultations with the Russians. Of this there can be no doubt.

The weather here is still tolerable and I have been able to do a little touring in this region. The army is very much in evidence, with lots of convoys going north. Kassem has received a lot of new material from Russia which he is at a loss to use, as he has neither the men nor the means to uncrate a lot of it.

Harsh army control: The army is engaged all along the line on police duties as the south is increasingly restless. There is the communist awareness in the towns, the anger of the tribes who are being worried into giving up their arms, the discontent in religious circles with military dictatorship, the ubiquity of Shi'ite propaganda (noisy but ineffective) and the tussle going on among Shi'ite intellectuals, who are communists, and the old mullahs, who are afraid of losing their privileges.

There is now very strict and harsh army control in all the provinces, with the elimination of anti-Kassemism as its main concern. The result is an extraordinary tension and unhappiness. Even Baghddadi newspapermen are not allowed to visit most parts of the country and, even if they did, they would not be allowed to report what they had seen or heard.

The news arrives from Baghdad by all the old-time routes and carries many familiar whispers, most of them built

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around Kassem's need for money—and support. The theme of these communications is that ever since he abandoned the communists and their organisation, he wrote himself off.

Anti-government rallying point: A good indicator of the way things are going is the National Democratic Party which, more quickly than most, reflects the ups and downs in politics at the top. The greatest number of its followers are contained in its left wing and at present the left wing has control of the main apparatus, which is a sure sign that the National Front instrument is being polished up again.

Abdul-Fattah Ibrahim, Ibrahim Kubbah and a few other university men and lawyers have the rudder in hand and have forced the resignation of Kamil al-Chaderchi, of Husain Jamil and of Hudaib al-Hajj Himoud. These three are nearer to the centre than the rest of the party which has undergone a lot of internal change since Mohammed Hadid broke away with a lot of the cream.

But the left wing of the N.D.P. is being used as the rallying point for elements against the government. This younger grouping of teachers, lawyers, students, and syndicalists has become disgusted with the older school and is far more activist.

Not complete front: By dint of hard work, it has managed to rally around it some of the Istiqlalists, some of the younger Democrats, some of the Baathists, some of the pro-Nasserists and some of the communists—but it cannot claim a complete front, although this is the aim. However, if these facts are known

to close observers of the Iraqi scene, they must also be known to Kassem himself. And this means that it cannot be long before he takes action in this direction too.

CAIRO'S "SPY-RING DISCOVERIES"

ECHOES OF LONSDALE CASE

from a special correspondent

To anyone familiar with the evidence produced at the Russian spy-ring trial in London in March, there is something strangely reminiscent about the discoveries made then in the homes of the accused and the "evidence" produced in Cairo last week by the director of the Information Department, Yahya Abu Bakr, to incriminate eight alleged members of an Israeli spy-ring.

In the hollow of a table, said Abu Bakr, Egyptian intelligence agents found films of nearly 1,000 documents. Other films and camera lenses were discovered in the concealed pipes of a traveller's butagas cooker. Further finds included a large suitcase with a secret compartment, a briefcase similarly equipped, a shaving kit adapted to hiding films and a cigarette lighter with a secret compartment. In the home of the principal accused they discovered a cabinet radio with special transmitting and receiving equipment, and a secret hiding place under the floor boards.

Abu Bakr asserted that the alleged spy-ring had been under Egyptian intelligence surveillance since 1958. One of the

sources of discovery, he stated, was the sudden appearance of affluence which was inconsistent with the limited income of the principal accused, Jean Leon Thomas. Together with his German wife, another of the accused, he travelled regularly to Europe under the guise of visiting his wife's family in Germany. In fact, said Abu Bakr, they were visiting Israeli intelligence agents in various European capitals.

Approach to a major: The Egyptian case, apparently, is that Thomas, his wife and his father were engaged in photographing military documents for transmission to Israeli intelligence. The actual photographs are said to have been taken by Jiryis Yaqub Tanilyan, the director of a photography shop in Shubra.

Thomas, according to Abu Bakr, received information and documents from one Muhammad Ahmad Hasan, a clerk at the armed forces field artillery training centre, as well as from others recruited for Thomas by a relative, George Damlaqyan. Money to finance these operations, it is alleged, was smuggled into the country by a firm of car dealers in Cairo's Suleiman Pasha Square under the screen of "apparently innocent commercial relations."

The suggestion is made that, apart from Thomas's surprising display of wealth, his activities were given away by the photographer Tanilyan who attempted to obtain information from Egyptian army officer Major Adib Hanna Kyrollos.

Million pound plane: At a meeting with Thomas, it is said, Kyrollos was promised £10,000 in return for information on the infantry. He was also promised a high post in a West German institution and facilities to travel abroad.

On December 31 last, said Abu Bakr, a cable was received by Thomas from his wife in Germany. On the face of it, it contained a New Year greeting. But the phrasing was code language instructing him to leave the country with the information that he had managed to secure.

This is the "official version" of the spy-ring's activities. The Middle East News Agency has embroidered it with some additional bits of information, such as that Kyrollos was told the organisation would pay one million pounds sterling to any pilot who would steal a Mig-21 jet and land it in either Tel Aviv or Cyprus.

The prosecution is to demand death sentences for five of the accused: Thomas, his wife and his father, Tanilyan and Hasan. Life imprisonment with hard labour is to be demanded for Abd el-Ahad Maksuf, a worker at a military factory; George Damlaqyan, a relative of Thomas, and Baba Zoglu, a Cairo car dealer.



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THE WORLD'S FORGOTTEN ARMY

HOW GREAT A DETERRENT IS U.N.E.F.?

from our own correspondent

New York :

The Congo, Laos, space flights and a score of other preoccupations have pushed the 1956 Suez affair far into the back of most people's minds. How many remember the Mitla pass or even Sharm el Sheikh?

Fewer people still, one can be sure, remember that there is a United Nations army on active duty on the Egyptian side of the border with Israel. The task of the total of 5,341 officers and men who make up the United Nations Emergency Force is to ensure peace along that border, all 171 miles of it.

Using their four Otter aircraft, the UNEF men also patrol the 118 miles of Sinai Peninsula coastline stretching from the Gulf of Akaba to the Straits of Tiran, as well as patrolling the land frontiers at least three times a week.

Only half on patrol : By far the biggest contingent comes from India—1,246 officers and men. Canada comes next with 932, followed by Yugoslavia—709. Scandinavia is well represented: Sweden (656), Norway (601) and Denmark (565) all have fair-sized contingents with UNEF, and there also 632 Brazilians.

Only half the force, some 2,650 men, do patrol and guard duty. The rest are administrative and ancillary troops.

The U.N. soldiers who carry out patrols and sentry-go have been divided up into 70 platoons, each made up of from 18 to 34 men.

Intensive check-up : Having been at their posts for something approaching five years, the UNEF field officers know their area extremely well, and have worked out an intensive system for keeping check on it and the people who live round about it. There are 73 observation posts, each of which is visible from the one on either side, along the entire length of the armistice demarcation lines.

During the day, each post is manned by two sentries, who can call on reserves from their platoons if necessary, by the simple expedient of picking up a telephone. The sentries have a longish tour of duty. They are on for six hours at a time, during which they take turn and turn about.



EGYPTIAN AND U.N. SOLDIERS MEET
A handshake in daylight—at night the picture changes

When dusk falls, the picture changes. Instead of manning fixed observation posts along the demarcation line, the troops carry out vigorous patrolling along it and also scour the roads and wadis infiltrators are likely to use for their forays across the border into Israel.

Road observation posts : It is only at night that the area really comes to life. Each sector is patrolled three times a night, for three to five hours at a time, and the patrols use flares when they need reinforcements, as well as keeping in touch with headquarters by radio.

UNEF has a less hectic time—from the patrol and guard duty point of view—along the border south of the Gaza strip.

Rough terrain and scattered minefields cut down the possibility of illegal crossings so much that only a few spots need to be constantly patrolled or kept under observation.

All the main access roads to Sinai have observation posts on them, manned by the Canadians (two) and the Yugoslavs (six), and their irregular spacing makes the use of vehicles essential. The closest together any of the observation posts are six miles, but some are fifty miles apart.

Air reconnaissance : About a platoon of men is stationed at each post, and one or two patrols a day are carried out by vehicles, which cover the entire area

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between the observation posts and the tracks leading to the frontier. As an additional precaution, Otter aircraft carry out a patrol of the frontier at least three times a week.

The Canadians and Yugoslavs are in wireless communication with each other as well as with the Brazilians further along, and all of them maintain radio contact with the reconnaissance planes.

Having got the land and the air space covered, UNEF has not neglected the sea. Two platoons are stationed at Sharm el Sheikh and maintain a constant watch on the Straits of Tiran.

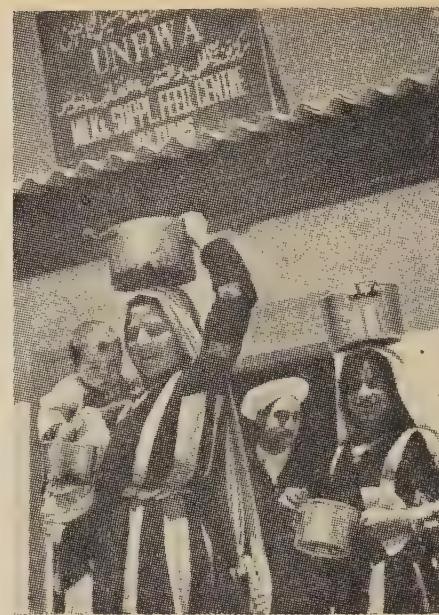
No sinecure: Official figures show that being a member of UNEF is no sinecure. Independent observations by UNEF troops and complaints made by both sides add up to 319 violations of air space in the year ended July 31, 1960.

262 of them were by identified planes, and of this total 229 were observed by UNEF troops, a further six were reported by the U.A.R. and confirmed by UNEF, and 27 were reported by the U.A.R. but unconfirmed.

According to the official UNEF report, nine violations of air space were caused by U.A.R. aircraft overflying Israel, while the others "involved Israeli aircraft overflying the Gaza strip and the Sinai Peninsula." All the unidentified overflights were also on the U.A.R. side.

Money is short: The year before had produced a bigger crop of violations, 374, so protests seem to have had some effect, despite the fact that, according to the U.N., "whenever a strong representation is made, thereafter such overflights decrease considerably in number only to increase again when the effect of the representation has worn off."

Financing UNEF, which is under the command of Lt.-Gen. P. S. Ghani, an Indian, is a hand-to-mouth business. Despite the U.N.'s experience in quantity purchasing of standard items in the country where they are cheapest, and the economies made possible by standardisation of equipment and reduction of spare



IS BREAD ALONE ENOUGH?
A lesson in greasing cars

part inventories, UNEF is always in the red.

By the end of last year only two-thirds (\$75 million) of the total assessments for the Force for 1957-60 had been collected from member governments of the U.N. This has meant that money has had to be borrowed from the U.N. Working Fund to the extent of \$5 million in order to keep the Force going.

SO LITTLE FOR THE REFUGEES

SOME PROJECTS HELD UP INDEFINITELY

from our correspondent

New York :

With the Arab refugees slated for discussion again by the United Nations later this year, it would seem to be a good thing to set down some of the facts about what has been done by the U.N. in the field of rehabilitation, little though it may be in relation to the size of the problem. These funds are, of course, in addition to the millions of dollars already spent on just keeping the refugees alive.

About half-a-million dollars have so far been spent in special rehabilitation projects for Arab refugees from funds allocated by governments to the United Nations' World Refugee Year (W.R.Y.) but a series of other projects is stymied because of lack of funds.

The dozen projects for which monies have been allocated consist, in the main,

of vocational training programmes aimed at helping the refugee lift himself out of the rut that leads from his tent or shack to the dole office of UNRWA.

Wrought iron furniture: These are some of the projects for which W.R.Y. funds have been made available:

A two-year course in home economics for refugee girls at the Y.W.C.A. Jerusalem Vocational Training Centre.

At Gaza, about \$17,000 is to be spent to teach refugee youths, already trained as metal workers, to make wrought iron furniture for sale.

Another Gaza project, to which \$5,600 has been allocated, is a course to teach young refugees how to grease cars.

Four schemes in Lebanon: A bigger project is to be initiated at Jericho where \$122,000 will be spent to provide boarding facilities for 50 refugees from outside Jericho who will be able to study four new trades (refrigerator repairing, plumbing, radio mechanics and electrical wiring) in addition to the present courses, which include auto mechanics, carpentry, furniture making, upholstering, varnishing and laundry work.

At Zerka, Jordan, \$64,000 will be spent to establish a dairy farm, on which 30 to 40 families will be settled and at Hebron a \$22,000 nursery and hatchery project is to be put into effect. The project will import seeds and prepare fruit and olive tree seedlings for frontier villages, and will also assist refugees in the area with poultry farming.

There is also a \$150,000 health project—a centre for the treatment and rehabilitation of cripple refugee children in Jerusalem. This is a joint project, developed on the initiative of the Lutheran World Federation with UNRWA technical advice. It is planned to treat 40 in-patients and a daily average of 40 out-patients. There is also a project for healthy refugee children living in Gaza—a big well-equipped playground capable of handling 400 youngsters who, otherwise, would have only the streets to play in.

Special services shelved: Vocational training schemes, camps and special services are projects that have been planned but are at a standstill because of lack of funds. They include an extension of a workshop at Gaza where Arab girls can make rugs, knitted goods and clothes; an extension of the Evangelical Hospital at Nablus, and the establishment of a Juvenile Observation Centre, costing \$62,000, in the Lebanon to provide special care and supervision of cases of juvenile delinquency.

Also untackled because of lack of funds (\$95,000) is an UNRWA scheme to finance the education and training of 225 handicapped refugees, mainly children.

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JUSTICE

IS THERE AN ANSWER TO GENOCIDE?

A STAGE FURTHER THAN NUREMBERG

from François Bondy*

Jerusalem :

Is there a legal system capable of dealing with the crime of systematically torturing and destroying millions of men, women and children over a long period? Can it serve the purposes of law if, in order to be brought to court, this new type of crime (as Karl Jaspers has called it) has to be dragged through a mass of "precedents," some of which are quite trivial?

In face of an evil that recognised no territorial bounds, Attorney General Hausner has claimed that with its "special interest" in the extermination of millions of Jews, Israel's right to sit in judgement can be traced back as far as the destruction of the Second Temple (70 A.D.). He has claimed too that the modern State of Israel has been "evolving" since the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

Is it really necessary to prove the legal connection between the State of Israel and millions of Jews who were murdered before this State came into being? Must one do that in order to make the murder of millions a punishable crime that every court of law is *ipso facto* qualified to pass sentence upon?

"The mills of Auschwitz": During the two days which were taken up by Attorney-General Hausner's reply to Dr. Servatius, Eichmann's defence counsel, who had argued that the court was prejudiced and incompetent, one often had the impression of attending an "Eichmann Seminar" in which a monstrous and unprecedented horror was being forced into the normal framework of an ordinary case against a "normal" murderer.

One could not help wondering if it was absolutely necessary to weave fine and sometimes broken threads of gossamer around the waxen puppet in the glass case, who once rightly boasted that it was he who "kept the mills of Auschwitz moving."

Hausner's opening argument, impress-



SO YOUNG ISRAEL SHOULD KNOW
Sackcloth and ashes

ive and not refuted, was that world public opinion as well as the Security Council of the United Nations had demanded that sentence should be passed on this man—and that no other national or international court had applied to try the case which the court in Jerusalem was both prepared and able to deal with.

No more arguments needed: Following this there should really have been no need of further and mostly less impressive arguments. Defence and prosecution have both spoken of the "legal vacuum" with which the world was confronted by the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Third Reich, which were something different from "war crimes"—and which, in the Nuremberg war criminals' trial (to which the prosecuting counsel has referred as constantly as he has to English common law), were treated as a side-issue.

Hausner has shown that, from Nuremberg to Jerusalem, a mass of special laws made by individual states has served to bridge this intolerable vacuum—and Servatius in his rejoinder has not failed to observe that this legal vacuum still persists and that internationally binding standards are not applied to the powerful States of today.

Both were right, since a situation in which a State slaughters millions of human beings who are in its power, is less tolerable from a legal point of view than special laws which subsequently punish the willing and principal organisers of these crimes. But it is also true that the sovereignty of even murderer-

* Editor of the French monthly *Preuves*, who is reporting the trial for FORUM-SERVICE.

States cannot be challenged before any international court, and that the organs of human rights do not yet exist.

All courts should be competent: These are weighty and not simply academic questions, for they also concern a future in which mass deportations and mass extermination are still possible. But the problem of the mass crimes committed on behalf of a State dominated by murderers is too great for the normal course of law, even when assisted by "special laws."

At the same time and in another sense it is simpler, since all the crimes committed by the Nazis were recognisable and punishable on the basis of the ordinary penal code—even the one in use in the Third Reich.

Every court in every legally constituted State should be able to declare itself competent—in default of an international tribunal—to adjudicate on what are clearly "crimes against humanity." And if a particular court is, as in this case, in a position to pass sentence on a man charged with crimes against humanity, and no other court claims the right to do so, this should itself be the basis of its competence.

"A peaceful citizen": So long as Eichmann's counsel concentrated on the questions of the "prejudice" and competence of the court, he was only doing his official duty, and compelled the court to make an explanation that was bound to be valuable and important. But he had only, three days later, to describe the manager of the extermination camps as a "peaceful citizen" who, since he had ceased to be in the unhappy position of being bound by oath to the service of an evil State, had done no harm to anyone, and a sense of horror and embarrassment filled the court room.

In the face of activities which surpass all "normal" crimes, the thesis of the innocence of the efficient manager of the complete extermination of the Jews is as intolerable as is any method of establishing that his guilt, though quantitatively millions of times greater, is fundamentally comparable with any other crime.

The thesis is provoking, the method inappropriate—as inappropriate as any conceivable measure of punishment must seem, compared with the agonies suffered by the millions of victims.

New horizon for justice: The right to punish those guilty of State-organised mass-killings cannot be effected like the balancing of an account. It is impossible to refer back to precedents in which after all there was still a relationship between the criminal and the dimensions of his deeds or "activity."

But it is possible nevertheless to pass

sentence on "crimes against humanity," taking into account the human situation in which it was possible for a sovereign State to commit mass murder, and the growth of an international law which, rather than punishing the mass murders committed by a State dominated by criminals, prevents them from happening in good time.

So far, Attorney-General Hausner has not appeared to grasp the fact that, when confronted with new horizons of injustice, justice itself needs a new horizon. But the presiding judge, Mr. Justice Landau, does give the impression of being a man who is aware of this necessity.

The answer to inhuman crimes: The Eichmann trial ought to be not merely the late afterbirth of the Nuremberg trials, but should provide us with the very thing that Nuremberg failed to be: an elucidation of the kind of answer the human community can make to the "crimes against humanity" which have taken place and which could be committed again.

CHOICE OF EICHMANN READING FOR GERMANS

PUBLISHERS CASH IN ON
FREE PUBLICITY

from Paul Arnsberg

Frankfurt:

The Eichmann trial in Jerusalem has featured in German press headlines for a long time now, with an accompanying volley of programmes on the radio and television. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that publishers have been moved to take advantage of the situation and exploit the free publicity it affords by turning out books on Eichmann. The shop windows of West German book-sellers are overflowing with them.

Their quality is in highly inverse proportion to their quantity, since very few of these books offer the reader anything new. They are a rehash of all the material revealed at the Nuremberg war crime trials, reinforced with the Eichmann "confessions" which appeared in *Life* magazine last year and details of his capture in the Argentine and transfer to Israel.

Despite the number and variety of books about Eichmann, they reveal very little about him personally or his character. It is perhaps true that the trial proceedings will serve as the writing of his biography. Nevertheless, there is one exception to this general mediocrity—a pamphlet written by Joel Brand and sub-

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The current issue contains articles on Charity Committees and the American Jewish scene, short stories, poetry and lampoons by cartoon besides pungent comments on the Jewish community in this country

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titled *Fakten gegen Fabeln* (Facts as Opposed to Fables), published by Ner Tamid of Frankfurt.

Much new material : Brand takes issue with Eichmann's so-called memoirs and gives a picture of the man and his personality based on his own experiences. Eichmann's assertion in his memoirs that he is a man of average character brings a lively retort from Brand. "What affrontry these words are. Nobody has ever insulted and degraded the German people as Eichmann has by putting himself forward as a typical German." The pamphlet contains a great deal of new information in concentrated form.

There are many other publications which deal with the subject in narrative form, including a pocket book by Quentin Reynolds called *Der Fall Adolf Eichmann* (The Downfall of Adolf Eichmann), published by Diana in Constance.

Forgery exposed: Another pocket book is Simon Wiesenthal's *Ich Jagte Eichmann* (I Hunted Eichmann), published by Siebert Mohn of Gütersloh. Wiesenthal, an architect who was incarcerated in thirteen different concentration camps, has the historic merit of having foiled Mrs. Eichmann's attempt to use forged documents to prove that her husband was dead.

Unsuccessful attempts were made to ban the sale of the book by provisional decree, since it also contains material on the activities of the Nachtigall Battalion in Lemberg (Lvov). It was in this unit that Theodor Oberländer, a former Federal Minister, saw service.

Becher's role : Robert Pendorf's *Mörder und Ermordete* (Murderer and Murdered), published in Hamburg by Rütten and Loening, is also worthy of note. It deals with the Jewish policy of the Third Reich and Eichmann's connection with it, taking as its theme the remark once made by Hermann Goering: "I would not like to be a Jew in Germany."

One chapter, called "Trade in People," contains a great deal of information about the still remarkably obscure role played by Kurt Becher, a former *Standartenführer* now "living as a respected businessman in Bremen," and how he raged at the late Sally Mayer when the dollar payments he had demanded were not forthcoming.

However, Moshe Pearlman's *Die Festnahme des Adolf Eichmann* (published by S. Fischer of Frankfurt-am-Main), which has already appeared in English under the title *The Capture of Adolf Eichmann* is probably the most noteworthy of all the books in this category.

Many mistakes : In general, however, it must be said that all the books of this

kind which have appeared about Eichmann are full of errors, due mainly, one supposes, to the haste with which they were produced. Even the address of Eichmann's office is incorrectly given.

In the documentary category, Arani (of Berlin) have published *Adolf Eichmann*, edited by Nachman Blumenthal and Joseph Kermisz of the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem. Another important work, which does not concern itself with the Eichmann affair as such, is the remarkable collection of documents assembled by Wolfgang Scheffler and published by the Berlin firm Colloquium under the title *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich, 1933-1945).

The same publishers have just issued a "popular" edition of Gerald Reitlinger's book on the Final Solution (die Endlösung), the attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe. It runs to 700 pages, which makes its price of DM 14.80 (26s.) far from excessive. The first chapter on Heydrich and Eichmann has been revised in the light of the latest information on the subject.

Distinguished book: Far and away the most outstanding of all these books, however, is Robert M. W. Kempner's *Eichmann und Komplizen* (Eichmann and his Accomplices), published by the Zurich firm of Europa.

Kempner is a legal theoretician and was the American deputy chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, so he knows his material well. His book makes use of a great deal of evidence from the Nuremberg trials and reproduces numerous photostats of documents indicating Eichmann's guilt.

On page 158 Kempner shows how all the participants at the Wannsee conference quite simply lied at their interrogation at Nuremberg. They wanted it to be believed that they knew nothing and had never sat at the same table with Eichmann. In public they claimed that Eichmann was dead.

Over-riding Mussolini: Many instances of special orders given by Eichmann are documented, and Kempner raises the question of whether it was Eichmann who was responsible for giving the order to bomb the Paris synagogues. Eichmann's activities in connection with the wiping out of the Jewish community of Salonika are firmly established.

The "little war" between Hitler and Horthy is fully documented in the book. Hitler was of the opinion that "the Jews must be dealt with like tuberculosis bacilli. In the end hares and deer are also killed." Eichmann continued with his deportations, despite the fact that Horthy's



IN THE MEMORIAL MUSEUM ESTABLISHED BY WARSAW GHETTO SURVIVORS
A model of the Treblinka concentration camp

order of June 26, 1944, commanded that they cease.

"Only" for transport: Page 430 makes it clear that no deportations would have been possible without wagons, and today Eichmann says that he was "only" responsible for transport. He was proud when his name was mentioned in the foreign press in connection with the Jewish question, and he read with pleasure in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* an article about Auschwitz and the gas chambers there.

Kempner points out, valuably, that "murder under orders remains murder," and gives some very interesting German and American legal rulings on the subject. With this assertion Kempner has reached down to the crux of the whole matter.

The idea that a specific paragraph of the German legal code would have had to be infringed leads to very obscure results if the central idea is not accepted that every member of the National So-

cialist murder machine ought *ipso facto* to be punished.

Taking advantage of situation: Mengele, for instance, who was the man who decided who was to be gassed at Auschwitz and who not, by making a mark on a list, could claim that he had been, in fact, a saviour of Jews. After all, he could argue, anyone sent to Auschwitz was due to be gassed in any case, so if he marked anyone's name for omission from the gassing list, then *he had saved them from death in this way*.

Although Kempner cites himself a little too often in his book, it is nevertheless an outstanding achievement.

The spate of Eichmann books is purely a matter of the publishers taking advantage of the present situation. They have realised that there is a public demand for books of this kind. The fact that there is such a demand is almost as good an indication as a Gallup poll of the state of public opinion in Germany. Whether it will change as the trial runs its course is a moot question at this stage.

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Sat. 13th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 Editorial Opinion, 9.35 Cantorial Music sung by Israel Cantors, 9.45 News headlines.

Sun. 14th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 Heritage: Elijah—The Mysterious Prophet, 9.40 International Sports Quiz, Part II (to be repeated May 21st), 9.45 News headlines.

Mon. 15th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 Newsreel

(including Report on the Eichmann Trial), 9.35 Music for Weddings, 9.45 News headlines.

Tues. 16th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 Commentary, 9.30 Festival of Songs—1961, Prize Winning Songs, 9.45 News headlines.

Wed. 17th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 Report on the Eichmann Trial, 9.30 Happy Birthday Songs from Israel, 9.45 News headlines.

Thurs. 18th May : 9.15 The News, 9.25 The Lively Arts: A monthly Magazine Programme, 9.35 Easy Hebrew Conversation, with Yehuda Goodman, 9.45 News headlines.

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THOSE WHO FOUGHT BACK

JUDGE'S ADVICE TO HAUSNER

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

From the fate of those east European Jews unable to resist the mass execution methods of their killers, the Eichmann trial prosecution turned the spotlight on those tragic yet heroic instances in which groups of desperate men, women and children went down fighting, and more particularly on the epic of the Warsaw Ghetto.

One of the main witnesses to this chapter of the European holocaust was Itzhak Zuckermann, a leader of the Ghetto revolt. Zuckermann, known in the Ghetto days by the name "Antek," told of a Jewish underground attack on a cafe frequented by Gestapo men in Cracow in December 1942 which was "remarkably successful."

He testified that in Cracow, as in the Warsaw Ghetto, all Zionist youth movements without exception, and most of the other youth movements, played an active part in the underground. There had been uprisings in many other ghettos, he stated, and a Jewish underground even existed in the concentration camps of Treblinka and Auschwitz.

Battle of Bialystok : But the conditions were more favourable in the Warsaw Ghetto because of the larger concentration of Jews there. He estimated that there were at least 20,000 Jewish partisans fighting in the forests of Poland and Slovakia.

Other testimony was given of Jewish resistance movements in the Vilna Ghetto and the Kovno Ghetto and of underground operations in Bialystok. But the Jewish fighters never had the weapons with which to tackle their enemies. In Bialystok their armoury consisted of two light machine guns, rifles and pistols and home-made grenades.

With these weapons, the Jews faced the German Army, supported by tanks and aircraft. In three hours the engagement was all over.

Children's game : In the telling of these stories, the court heard harrowing details of Jewish suffering: of the mother given the choice of saving one of her three children from death and, unable to choose from amongst them, turning her back on them all; of the children of the ghetto playing at "Germans and Jews" and carrying each other off to mock burials; of the Sabbath eve in a women's camp where hundreds of quietly weep-

ing inmates gathered around a piece of candle and sang Jewish songs.

More than once, presiding Judge Landau was forced to ask the Attorney General to keep the testimony to the items on the charge sheet. He asked that witnesses be given explicit instructions to relate only what was relevant, so as to save the court the embarrassment of having to cut short the testimony of witnesses who had seen and experienced so much suffering.

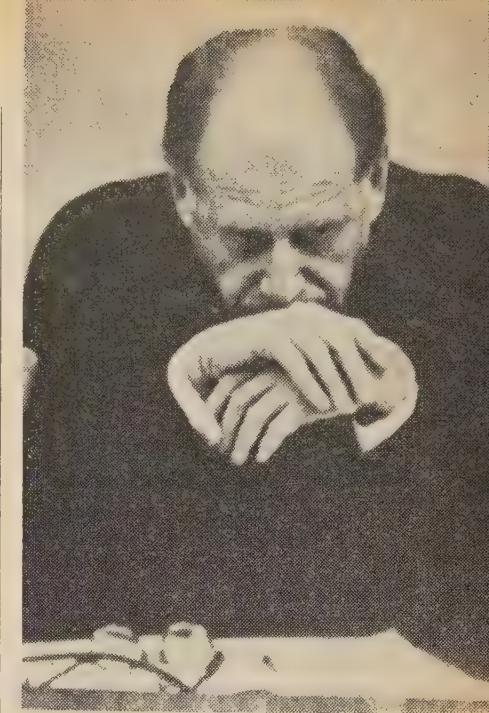
Throughout this harrowing testimony, which brought the court to the end of last week, Eichmann sat unmoved in his glass case, as if the proceedings had no connection with him whatsoever. But on Monday and Tuesday of this week, there was a remarkable change. He reverted to his earlier practice of scribbling intensively on his note pad, often furiously crossing through what he had written and writing something else over it.

Action in France : This new interest was evidenced when the prosecution opened the chapter of the Final Solution in western Europe, starting with France. This chapter is much better documented than that on eastern Europe and there is a mass of official memoranda (most of them from German Foreign Office archives) containing enough evidence to hang Eichmann a hundred times over, even if there were no other crime which could be pinned to his name.

These documents show that not only did Eichmann and his department plan and organise the deportations of French Jews, but that he also fought bitter battles with various authorities and foreign countries (through the Wilhelmstrasse) to counteract the attempts by consulates to protect their Jewish citizens who happened to be in France.

When a consulate (even of a neutral country) asked for the repatriation of a Jewish citizen, the usual procedure was for Berlin to ask Eichmann's department for its views. The invariable reply was that for reasons of principle, he could not agree "to exempt this Jew from the comprehensive measures taken for the final solution of the Jewish problem."

Truth and propaganda : In other cases, he forbade repatriation because "the Jew might conduct atrocity propaganda abroad." With reference to this, the prosecutor quoted from Eichmann's tape-recorded testimony that, even if the Jew concerned only told the truth, it was still atrocity propaganda. When Switzerland insisted that Swiss Jewish families stranded in France be repatriated, Eichmann demanded that Berlin put an end to "obstreperous intercessions" by the Swiss Consulate.



JUDGE RAVEI
To save the court embarrassment

At the end of 1942, the Nazi "specialist" on Jewish affairs made an excursion into Jewish history when he denied a claim by Persian Jews that they were merely "Persians of the Mosaic faith." In a letter to Berlin, Eichmann called this "the usual Jewish camouflage manoeuvre." He cited the "Esther case, Purim festival" as evidence that the Jewish problem in Persia had been alive throughout the centuries.

Any objections ? But the most damning evidence was the least spectacular. It consisted of regular memoranda from Eichmann announcing that he intended to deport one thousand Jews from France and saying that he "would be grateful for information that there are no objections."

One of the most interesting aspects of the week's evidence was the revelation that, as the Nazi persecution machine moved across Europe from the east to the west, so did the non-Jewish populations become increasingly active in providing shelter and assistance to Jews.

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ZIONISM

BEN-GURION EXPLAINS PARTIES PRESS KNESSET CENSURE

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

A rather surprised Prime Minister continues to find himself in the midst of a storm set off by last week's publication of the Ben-Gurion-Blaustein agreement, which says that American Jews owe no political allegiance to Israel and that Israel will not presume to speak in the name of Jews who are citizens of other countries.

A motion critical of the Prime Minister was introduced at Sunday's Cabinet meeting by Mapam Ministers Israel Barzilai and Mordecai Bentov. But Ben-Gurion, as Cabinet chairman, refused to accept it, pointing out that only censure motions on matters of foreign policy or security were admissible.

At the same time, the Premier explained to his colleagues that, by signing the agreement with the Hon. President of the American Jewish Committee, he had bestowed no special status or authority on that organisation. He had merely provided it with the clarification it had sought, and he would have been prepared to give similar clarification to any other Jewish organisation which had sought it.

Nothing new : But this reassurance has not halted the critics and three motions critical of the Premier are to be discussed in the Knesset. They have been tabled by Herut, the Liberal Party and Ahdut Avoda. The motions also refer to Ben-Gurion's suggestion in a recent *Davar* article that the name of the Zionist Organisation should be changed to "Jewish Organisation".

Meanwhile, there has been another protest from America against the Premier's accord with Blaustein. This one came from Label Katz, leader of the B'nai B'rith. Katz did not take issue with the contents of the agreement but with the fact that it had been concluded with a representative of a single Jewish organisation and one that was outside the

ranks of the Presidents' Club.

In a reply to Katz, Ben-Gurion stressed that there was nothing new about his agreement with Blaustein. It was merely a reaffirmation of their agreement of 1950. At the same time, he promised his co-operation with the Presidents' Club.

The real issue : The American Jewish Committee itself has hit back at critics of the agreement, and specifically at Dr. Nahum Goldmann. The real issue, said the Committee, "is whether American Jewry may continue, as in the past, to express their interest in Israel according to their own inclinations, as individuals or through organisations of their own choosing".

MR. PINKUS'S PROBLEM ONLY AN EIGHT PER CENT STAKE

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

Perhaps the most unenvied man in the whole Zionist hierarchy today is A. L. Pinkus, the new Jewish Agency Treasurer, who succeeds Dov Joseph and inherits from him all the financial problems that brought about his resignation.

The extent of the monetary difficulties in which the Agency finds itself was paraded for inspection by Joseph in his resignation speech at the recent session of the Actions Committee. He wanted the Agency to pull in its horns and to spend within the limits of its income. But the Committee could not accept these limitations and Joseph, faced with carrying out a policy to which he was opposed, took the only course open to him.

But before resigning, he pointed out that the Diaspora's share in the upbuilding of Israel by means of financial contributions did not exceed eight per cent at the present time. In spite of the large sums collected by the United Jewish Appeal in the United States, he said, the average annual contribution per head in that country was still only \$15. In other countries it was even less.

Burden of loan repayments : This response he described as "inadequate." It was not even sufficient for the preliminary absorption costs of new immigrants. The balance had to be met by Israelis themselves. As a result, the division of labour between the Government and the Agency, which had been agreed on in 1948, had become largely illusory—the Agency just could not bear the financial strain.

The Government was now paying over half of the settlement budget and the Agency had been forced to relinquish many fields of activity for lack of funds.

Moreover, said Dov Joseph, the heavy repayment of debts was an immense burden on the treasury, since part of every year's income was already mortgaged for years ahead to pay for past expenditures. A consolidation loan was now being negotiated in the U.S. which had the purpose of turning the Agency's entire indebtedness into a long-term obligation over ten years—but this would again bite deeply into the operational budget.

Some members were critical of Joseph for giving up the reins of office at this time. Aharon Zisling of Ahdut Avoda remarked that the payment of interest was not his concern, but the responsibility of those who had undertaken, but failed, to provide the required means.

This is the problem which has now been turned over to A. L. Pinkus. Can he succeed where Joseph was compelled to admit defeat?

FEDERATION'S TRIBUTE TO RICHTIGER

HOMAGE TO A PRACTICAL ZIONIST

from the Jewish Affairs reporter

"A. I. Richtiger, a practical Zionist", was how Zionist Federation General Secretary Lavy Bakstansky described Richtiger at a reception in honour of his seventieth birthday held last week.

Recalling Richtiger's lifelong association with Zionism, Bakstansky went on to talk about "this man from Poland" and his constructive outlook. Practical Zionism was his philosophy of life, which was why it was possible for Richtiger, a socialist, to work with General Zionists in constructive endeavour within the Zionist Federation.

Richtiger has long been especially interested in matters connected with pioneering settlement in Israel and youth, and this was brought out in the tribute paid to him by Donald Silk, Shlomo Temkin of the Z.F. Israel office echoed this, when he said that thousands of settlers in Israel had cause to be grateful to Richtiger for his efforts on their behalf.

A Zionist of necessity : Other speakers were I. Jeziersky, Mrs. Daphne Sieff and Janus Cohen. Sidney Shipton was in the chair. There were many congratulatory messages, including greetings from Israel Ambassador Arthur Lourie, Federation Chairman Halevy, and former Chairman Woolf Perry.

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Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.I. Hyde Park 2286/7



Joseph Collier.

NORTH LONDON CAMPAIGNS

A group of North London committees recently combined their J.P.A. campaign events with warm demonstrations of good-will towards Israel on the 13th anniversary of independence. They were Highgate, Palmers Green and Highbury, and at each of them, our reporter informs us, the characteristic was packed audiences, attentive listeners and highest-ever contributions to the national effort.

The Highgate community meeting took place at the Waley-Cohen Hall under the chairmanship of Ben Stanton and with Mr. and Mrs. Sam Barden as hosts. (Dr. A. Phillips, the committee's chairman, was away in Israel at the time). Rachel Hubner and Ralph Rurka were the guests and in their individual ways, these speakers put over a case which was also a composite picture of Israel's social and economic structure. Highgate's total now stands at £2,832—a record for this community at this stage of the campaign.

Palmers Green: In Palmers Green, Mrs. Hubner was supported by J.P.A. provincial director S. W. Gold. Here, Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Wilton were the hosts and Harry Epstein took the Chair. The appeal realised £1,000. Other speakers: Mrs. S. Tomback, A. H. Cohen and B. Epstein.

Highbury: The new film, "Memo to Eichmann", and a talk by Shlomo Temkin gave topicality to a Highbury meeting which took place at Dalston Syna-



I. Jack Lyons.

gogue. The Zionist Federation's Tel Aviv representative was supported by Rabbi I. Newman and H. L. Lambert, while N. Stern was in the Chair.

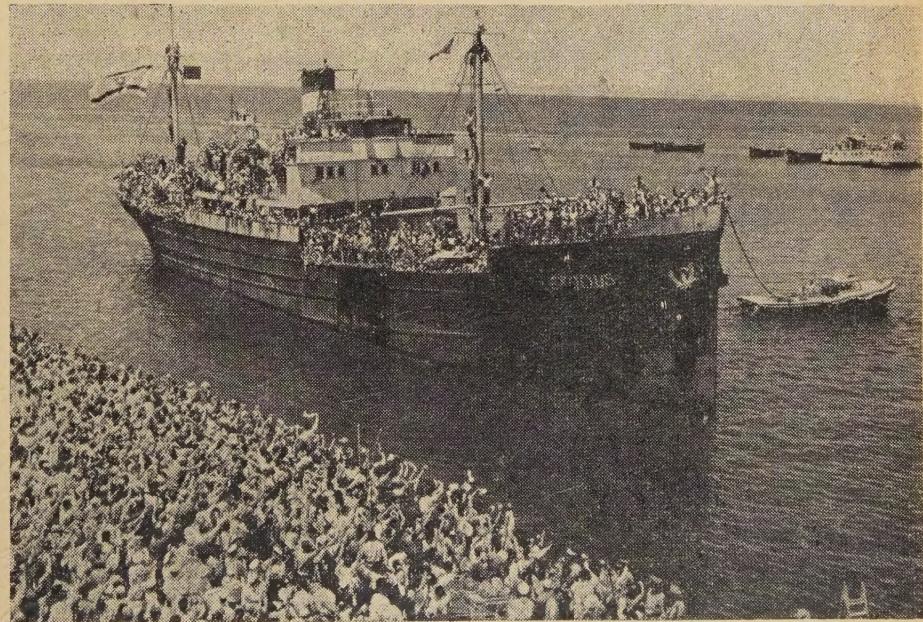
The committee, which announced a contribution of £200 from this group at the end of the evening, wish to place on record their thanks to the Ladies Guild under Mrs. Kaye for their work in the catering department.

J.P.A. LEADERSHIP CHANGES

The J.P.A. administrative committee chairman, J. Edward Sieff, announces that Joseph Collier, for nine years deputy-chairman of the administrative committee, has tendered his resignation due to ill health. The committee has accepted the resignation with deep regret.

Mr. Collier has been actively engaged in J.P.A. work, particularly in the Textile Trade, for many years, and as a mark of appreciation the committee unanimously elected him honorary vice-president. His post of deputy-chairman has been filled by the election of I. J. Lyons, formerly of Leeds, who has lived in London for the past four years. Mr. Lyons is associated with Mr. Collier in business on the Board of United Drapery Stores Ltd.

Two years ago, Mr. Lyons took over from Mr. Collier as president of the Textile Trade committee of the J.P.A. For many years he has devoted much of his free time and worked vigorously in connection with charitable and social work in this country. He has been called upon to take the leading role within many Jewish organisations, and is joint deputy-chairman of the Board of Governors of Carmel College. Mr. Lyons is also chairman of the Leeds Musical Festival.



A still from Otto Preminger's "Exodus," a performance of which is being sponsored by the St. John's Wood J.N.F. Commission on this coming Tuesday. There is still time to obtain tickets from M. Clements, WELbeck 3463 or PRImrose 8831, and other committee members, as well as from J.N.F. head office. Seats at the following prices were available at time of going to press: Three guineas, two guineas and one guinea.

J P A - J N F N E W S

GOLFERS AT YODFAT PROJECT REALISED

A flag has been raised and yet another project is completed in the vast plan for reclaiming Israel's neglected terrain.

The agricultural experimental station at Yodfat, the project undertaken by Jewish golfers of Great Britain in the name of the late David Fox, is now ready for action. Last week in Galilee the raising of the flag by Barmitzvah boy Master Posner, and the unveiling of the plaque by Mrs. Jennie Fox, marked the successful achievement of the £30,000 needed to realise this undertaking. A memorial prayer was recited by Rabbi Dr. Weinstock. Zvi Wineberg, of Head Office, presided.

Eliezer Argov, director of administration of the J.N.F., described Yodfat in history and then emphasised the need for repairing the neglect of 2,000 years, of making the land as fertile and productive as in the days when the tribes of Zebulon and Asher roamed the hills of Galilee. Lack of habitation, he declared, meant strategic insecurity, and in this project the J.N.F. had taken a great step forward in the survival and development plan for Israel.

Yehuda Weisbach, spokesman of Yodfat's settlers, said they felt privileged to meet their partners from the Diaspora. He was supported by Rav-Seren (Major) Bar Lev, liaison officer of Army G.H.Q.



Mrs. Fox reading the dedication.

Sydney Obrart, joint-chairman of the J.N.F. golfers championships committee, expressed appreciation of the work undertaken so enthusiastically by his colleagues. He hoped that the presence of the delegates at this project's culmination would inspire them on to further endeavours. Hilary Clive paid a moving and warm tribute to Mr. Obrart's qualities of drive and leadership in forging this new Anglo-Jewish link with Israel.

HUBNER TOUR ENDS

After a stay of almost four weeks in Britain on an extensive speaking tour in support of the current J.P.A. campaign, Mrs. Rachel Hubner returned on Friday to her home in Israel.

During her visit, this leading woman



J.N.F. golfers with friends and K.K.L. officers at Yodfat Ceremony.

social worker addressed some 20 J.P.A. meetings, and on the eve of her departure she was tendered a luncheon by senior members of the J.P.A. staff.

In a brief speech of thanks, Mrs. Hubner observed that she had found the Jewish community of Great Britain warm and sympathetic towards visitors from Israel, and she thought that the structure of fund-raising campaigns here "took the human element into consideration" more than in the U.S.A. and South Africa.

The current J.P.A. campaign for two million pounds stands at £1,286,000 raised.

ISRAEL'S TAX BURDEN

A LETTER FROM LEVI ESHKOL

The Israel Minister of Finance, in reply to an enquiry from P. S. Gourgey, honorary secretary of Poale Zion of Great Britain, had something to say on the Israeli citizen's taxation burden, a large part of which goes into development projects and immigrant re-settlement.

Mr. Eshkol wrote: "You are quite right in your assumption that we raise more money from the Israeli citizen in the form of direct taxes than is contributed by the average donor in Great Britain or the United States. The Israel taxpayer is also subject to indirect taxation, which in total amounts to 50 per cent more than the sum raised by direct taxation.

"Estimated receipts for the fiscal year 1961/2 are as follows:

	If mil.	Estimated no. of families in Israel
Direct Taxes	408.1	590,000
Indirect Taxes	621.8	
TOTAL	1,029.9	

	Average tax burden per family	If Sterling equivalent
Direct Taxes	692	£138
Indirect Taxes	1,054	£209
TOTAL	1,746	£347

"Taking account of the fact that quite a number of the 590,000 families are in a very low income bracket and pay no direct taxes, the burden falling on the actual taxpayers is even heavier.

"Contributions to the *Magbit* (United Appeal) are not included in the State budget, but appear in the budget of the Jewish Agency."

JPA - JNF NEWS

SOUTHGATE SEES "TENTH MAN"

"The Tenth Man," the play based on a modern version of the "Dybbuk" which is breaking records in New York, was performed to a full house at the Comedy Theatre, London, last week when the Southgate and Cockfosters Commission sponsored a gala production that realised £1,100 for J.N.F. work in Israel.

Chairman M. Tillkoff, in his message published in the souvenir brochure, noted with gratification the association of the community with the coming-of-age of the State of Israel. But he wanted to see increased efforts and expansion of the Commission's activities in order to face the challenge and responsibilities of the young country. Increased membership was therefore a vital factor in their work, and Mr. Tillkoff hoped that new recruits for the Commission might be drawn from the actual audience that evening.

J.N.F. president Rosser Chinn congratulated the Commission on arranging a gala performance of this noteworthy play, and he too commented on the appropriateness of a special effort in this, Israel's Barmitzvah year, and of the importance of new members to maintain the strength of the Commission.

NEWCASTLE VICTORS IN QUIZ

Preparations are in full swing for the International Finals of the J.N.F. Quiz, due to take place in the afternoon of May 28 at the Rudolf Steiner Hall. Finalists from Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Eire and Great Britain will compete.

Tickets for the Quiz are obtainable from the J.N.F. at 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

The regional competitions were held last week, as a result of which Newcastle, qualified to represent Great Britain on May 28. Runners-up were Southport, Edinburgh and Belfast.

IN THE SEFER BARMITZVAH

Lewis Bernard Mack
John David Ashley Levy
Sten Howard Fruhman
David Barrie Hyams
Brian Donal Sochall
Stephen Henry Wand
Jonathan Gerald Spain
Alan Philip Hoppen
Nicolas John Nathan
David Linton
Mark Walsh

NOTTINGHAM SPEAKERS RECALL OLD TIMES

The presence of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Posnansky at Nottingham's J.P.A. launching drew some reminiscences from Louis Davis, president, about the beginnings of campaign activities in that city. He recalled that Mr. Posnansky had launched the very first appeal in Nottingham, in 1944, together with a group of Zionists who are still remembered with affection by many present.

Mr. Davis referred to the passing of Victor Dessau a few months before, "one of the most ardent workers for the cause, and whose loss is very deeply felt." A minute's silence was observed in Mr. Dessau's memory. Mr. Posnansky then presented Mr. Davis with a tree certificate in appreciation of the Nottingham leader's long service to Israel.

Introduced by chairman Michael Glass, Arieh Miron, Minister of the Israel Embassy who was, with his wife, among the guests of honour, presented a balance-sheet of Israel's achievements. "There is no political independence without economic independence," he declared. "Never again will Jews be defenceless!" Israel had no selective immigration, he went on, and faced a difficult internal task; yet today, she already played a part in modern civilisation. Difficult times were by no means over, but greater identification of the Diaspora with Israel was an historic need.

Joe Dessau (son of the late Victor Dessau) then conducted the appeal which resulted in over £10,000 being subscribed, and votes of thanks were given by Messrs. B. Millett, M. Leventhal and B. Levinson.

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Sunday, 11th June, 1961, 7.30 p.m.

Tickets 3 gns., 2 gns., £1.10.0, 1 gn., 15/-,
10/6, 7/6.

From : Mr. E. Valens (COP. 2568)

Mr. H. Angel (MAR. 6016)

Mr. H. L. Wicksman (Day BAY. 8941;

Evening DOL. 8297)

Mr. L. L. Glazer: (MUS. 6111)

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

E. LONDON : Mr. J. Gorin, 118 Ashfield Street, E.1, £4.11.10. Mrs. Hofman, 116 High Street, Walthamstow, E.17, £3.7.6. Mr. Mintz, 251 Mile End Road, E.1, £3.5.0. Mr. J. Lotsky, Secretary East End Friendly Loan Society, 22 Osborne Street, E.1, £2.16.4. Mrs. R. Yanofsky, 79 Whitechapel Road, E.1, £2.15.9. Mrs. Schwartz, 281 Bancroft Road, E.1, £2.14.0. Messrs Julius & Co., 82 Cavell Street, E.1, £2.14.0. Mr. C. H. Levy, 22 Osborne Street, E.1, £2.12.4. Mrs. Cohen, 144 Jubilee Street, E.1, £2.9.6. Mr. Levy, 39 Pelew House, E.1, £2.5.0. Mr. Prager, 13 Cambridge Heath Road, E.1, £2.2.0. Mr. Shapero, 221 Forest Road, E.17, £2.2.0. Mr. M. Rubenstein, 57 Durlston Road, E.5, £2.0.6. Mr. George Leisner, 3 Beaumont Court, Clapton, E.5, £2.0.0.

W.C. LONDON : Mr. I. Franks, S.11. Silver Vaults, 53 Chancery Lane, W.C.2, £6.8.6. Mr. I. Collin, 88 Paramount Court, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.1, £2.5.0. Mr. S. Newman, 55/56 Long Acre, W.C.2, £2.2.0.

SOUTHEND & WESTCLIFF : Mr. & Mrs. M. Masters, Westward Ho, £9.10.0. Mr. & Mrs. E. Lewis, 21 The Ridgeway, £6.5.4. Mr. L. Feitelson, 51 Chalkwell Avenue, £6.3.6. Mr. B. Levene, Silvermere, Chalkwell Esplanade, £4.3.0. Mrs. Gershlick, 320a Station Road, and Miss Helen Mindy Freedman, £3.10.4. Mr. & Mrs. Nelin, Cumberland Hotel, £3.8.9. Mr. & Mrs. I. Freedman, 56 Genesta Road, £3.6.0. Mrs. E. Rakusin, 31 Hall Park Avenue, £3.0.3. Mr. & Mrs. S. Turschwell, 22 First Avenue, £3.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. M. Franks, 50 Leasway, £3.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. E. Minsky, 32 Hillway, £3.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. C. Smith, 45 Leasway, £3.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. H. I. Elman, B5 Argyle House, £2.17.0. Mr. & Mrs. C. Levene, 33 Hillway, £2.13.6. Mr. & Mrs. H. Blankfield, 276 London Road, £2.11.0. Mr. A. Norden, 6 Second Avenue, £2.10.0. Mr. & Mrs. A. Bornstein, 38 The Drive, £2.10.0. Mr. & Mrs. H. Riseman, 630 London Road, £2.10.0. Dr. & Mrs. J. Lee, A3 Argyle House, £2.7.6. Mr. & Mrs. B. Bratt, A9 Argyle House, £2.7.6. Mr. & Mrs. J. Shedley, 18 Ridgeway Gardens, £2.7.0. Mr. I. Saunders, Savoy Hotel, £2.6.3. Mrs. F. Bright, 34 Grosvenor Road, £2.5.8. Mr. & Mrs. M. Redstone, Redstones Hotel, 16/18 Pembury Road, £2.5.0. Mr. & Mrs. E. Lane, 48 Chalkwell Avenue, £2.4.0. Mr. & Mrs. W. Gee, 4 Seaforth Road, £2.3.6. Mr. & Mrs. Ben Speck & Son, 160 Station Road, £2.2.3. Mr. I. Davis, 77 Chalkwell Avenue, £2.2.0. Mr. & Mrs. I. Jonas, 154 Station Road, £2.2.0. Mrs. Leiberman, 17 Cranley Road, £2.0.9. Mrs. Lachter, 17 Cranley Road, £2.0.9. Mr. & Mrs. S. Werch, 63 Chalkwell Avenue, £2.0.6. Mr. & Mrs. M. Lewis, 118 Hamlet Court Road, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. J. Isenberg, 6 Britannia Road, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. F. Bratt, 16 The Ridgeway, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. R. Angel, 43 Chadwick Road, £2.0.0. Miss Naomi Angel, 43 Chadwick Road, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. L. Baum, 187 London Road, £2.0.0.

BRIGHTON : Mrs. Schaverin, F.2. Marine Gate, Blackrock, £2.2.0.

EASTBOURNE : Mr. P. Panto, 18 Pashley Road, £4.0.0. Mr. I. Panto, 178 Willington Road, £3.0.0. Mr. Seligman, Convalescent Home, £2.2.2.

GLASGOW : Mr. J. Jack, 73 Beech Av., Newton Mearns, £5.4.0. Mrs. Tena Callander, 92 Overdale St. S.2, £3.10.0. Mr. R. J. Lucas, 32 Southlea Avenue, Giffnock, £3.2.0. Mr. M. N. Davis, 9 Beech Avenue, Newton Mearns, £2.12.0. Dr. R. Steen, 16 Sutherland Avenue, S.1, £2.12.0. Mr. J. Woolfson, 25 Kersland Street, W.1, £2.12.0. Mr. & Mrs. M. Gold, 6 Cavendish Drive, Newton Mearns, £2.12.0. Mrs. T. Plotkin, 2 Maybank Street, S.2, £2.6.0. Mr. Bereott, 56/57 Argyll Arcade, C.1, £2.2.0.

LUTON : Mr. & Mrs. S. Baker, 203 New Bedford Road, £5.0.0. Dr. & Mrs. J. Lowy, 48 Old Bedford Road, £3.15.0. Mr. & Mrs. Weissberg, 10 Castle St., £2.12.3. Mr. & Mrs. Taylor, 19 Kingsway, Dunstable, £2.12.0.

MIDDLESBROUGH : Mrs. A. Lazarus, 40 Emerson Avenue, £5.0.0.

NOTTINGHAM : Mr. Braman, 26 Noel Street, £8.5.0. Mr. Knobil, 38 Premier Road, £8.1.2. Mrs. Levy, 24 Hope Drive, £4.9.9. Mr. Brewer, 3 Henley Rise, £4.2.0. Mr. Carter, Boundary Road, £3.3.0. Mr. Isaacs, 122 Gregory Boulevard, £2.10.0. Dr. Frank, 581 Mansfield Road, £2.7.9. Mr. Britz, 100 Priory Road, £2.4.0. Mr. Leci, 79 Ribblesdale Road, £2.0.0. Mrs. Gershon, 10 Mowbray Gardens, £2.0.0.

SOUTHPORT : Mr. T. Black, 21 Westcliffe Road, £5.3.0. Mrs. B. Sill, 20 Iathom Road, £4.3.0. Mr. Winer, Flat 2, Kenworthy's, Bath Street, £3.1.6. Mr. Werner, 14 Chamber Road, £2.10.0. Messrs. Levin Bros., 37 Everard Road, £2.10.0. Mr. S. Grant, Corme House, Albert Road, £2.1.0. Mrs. Talips, 24 Sea Bank Road, £2.0.6. Mr. H. Ross, 7 Everard Road, £2.0.0. Mr. A. Segal, 24 Sea Bank Road, £2.0.6.

SWANSEA : Mr. Hyman, 47 Carlton Terrace, £6.0.0. Mr. L. Goldstone, Langholm, Cherry Grove, £3.0.0. Mr. H. Wyman, 590 Pembegthen Road, £2.10.0. Mrs. E. Corrick-Brizt, 7 Queens Road, Sketty, £2.10.0. Mrs. A. Valentine, 167 Hanover Street, £2.3.0. Mr. S. Black, 23 Long Oaks Avenue, £2.2.0.



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